

10-326/a

The Honorable Angier Biddle Duke  
International Rescue Committee  
255 Fourth Avenue  
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Duke:

The full Report of the Zellerbach Commission on the European Refugee Situation, which you so thoughtfully sent to me, has been reviewed by members of this organization who advise me that it is a most thorough, up-to-date analysis of the complex refugee problem.

I agree that the Report should be of special interest to U.S. Government officials. It will be retained by this Agency as a valuable reference document.

Sincerely,

Allen W. Dulles  
Director

cc: DDCI

STATINTL

Signature recommended: [REDACTED]

Date: 23 JAN 1958

Deputy Director(Plans)

DDP/PP/ICD

23 January 1958

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Attached report filed in back of "D" folder

## THE ZELLERBACH COMMISSION ON THE EUROPEAN REFUGEE SITUATION

January 6, 1958

Executive Registry

10-326

**Chairman:**

MR. HAROLD ZELLERBACH  
Crown Zellerbach Corporation  
343 Sansome Street  
San Francisco, California

**Co-Chairman:**

HON. ANGLIER BIDDLE DUKE  
International Rescue Committee  
255 Fourth Avenue  
New York, New York

The Honorable Allen W. Dulles  
Director  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Dulles:

In the attached envelope you will find a copy of the full Report of the Zellerbach Commission on the European Refugee Situation, which was released for publication last month. We feel that the Report would be of special interest to members of Congress and of the Administration because it is the most up-to-date of the available studies on the problem.

The Commission came up with the finding that the European refugee problem can be solved - provided that the Western nations treat it as a collective responsibility. It was our thinking that a conference of the free nations most concerned with the refugee problem would be the logical starting point for such a concerted undertaking. We were therefore delighted to learn that the NATO Parliamentary Conference, during its recent session, adopted a resolution presented by Senator Javits, specifically recommending that NATO undertake a collective action in support of the U.N. High Commissioner's program of refugee resettlement. A copy of this resolution is attached for your information.

The Zellerbach Commission came into being as an ad hoc body on the invitation of the International Rescue Committee. It was inspired by the hope that a representative group of citizens, looking at the problem with a fresh viewpoint, would be able to submit a citizens' report to the American people, and might come up with some recommendations that would be helpful in solving the problem.

The first section of the Report consists of a resume of the findings and recommendations of the Commission. By way of some additional synoptic material, I am enclosing copies of several press articles.

It is our hope that you will find the Report a useful reference document in considering any matter pertaining to the reception, treatment, and resettlement of the refugees.

Sincerely yours,

*Anglier Biddle Duke*  
Anglier Biddle Duke  
Co-Chairman

HON. EUGENIE ANDERSON  
Tower View  
Red Wing, Minnesota

MR. IRVING BROWN  
AFL-CIO  
20, rue de la Paix  
Paris 2, France

MRS. DAVID LEVY  
993 5th Avenue  
New York, New York

MR. EUGENE LYONS  
The Reader's Digest  
Pleasantville, New York

THE VERY REV. JAMES A. PIKE  
Cathedral of St. John the Divine  
Cathedral Station  
New York, New York

## The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1957.

### REFUGEE SOLUTION IS URGED ON NATO

Group Asks for Resettlement  
of 200,000 Anti-Reds

By HARRISON E. SALISBURY

A private refugee commission called yesterday for a North Atlantic program to help settle the remaining 200,000 refugees from Communist countries.

The commission, headed by Harold Zellerbach, San Francisco industrialist, asked that the United States assume leadership of such a program. The group has been studying the refugee situation under the auspices of the International Rescue Committee.

Commission members, at a news conference at the Overseas Press Club, 35 East Thirty-ninth Street, called on the United States to grasp the opportunity for a humanitarian countermove to Soviet scientific achievements.

It presented a detailed program to scrap present United States immigration legislation in favor of regulations along the lines of proposals made to Congress last year by President Eisenhower.

The group asked that the United States permit the entry of 75,000 of the 200,000 refugees from Iron Curtain countries who still are without permanent places of settlement.



**URGES ACTION:** Harold Zellerbach, who heads refugee commission under auspices of the International Rescue Committee. He called on U. S. to assume leadership in resettling backlog of 200,000 refugees.

Mrs. Eugenie Anderson, former United States Ambassador to Denmark and a commission member, declared that United States prestige in Western Europe was at its lowest point since World War II.

"This is partly the effect of Soviet sputniks, partly Little Rock, partly drift, partly negative policies," Mrs. Anderson said. "If the United States will take the lead in seeking to im-

plement NATO support in the refugee field, we can prove to Western Europe that we are prepared to lead the way in humanitarianism."

"We were the first to dangle the hope and joys of freedom before the peoples of Eastern Europe," said another commission member, the Very Rev. James A. Pike, dean of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine.

"But we have wound up thirteenth among the countries in our willingness to take refugees, calculated on a basis of population. Regardless of Soviet successes in the fields of science, the military arts and politics, at least we can now assert our moral leadership with regard to refugees."

#### Breakdown of Refugees

The 200,000 refugees include 23,000 Hungarians in Austria, Yugoslavia and Italy who escaped after the Hungarian revolt last year. There are about 14,000 recent Yugoslav refugees. The others are refugees from other Eastern European countries and persons displaced by World War II.

About 50,000 of the 200,000 live in official refugee camps. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees expects to resettle this group and close the camps by the end of 1960.

The Zellerbach commission hopes to stimulate United States action to achieve simultaneous resettlement of the 150,000 others.

The commission's report asked for a conference of North Atlantic nations and other countries that have resettled Hungarians. It proposed that each country agree to specific quotas to absorb the remaining refugees within the next three years.

**From the  
INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE**

**255 FOURTH AVENUE**

**NEW YORK 10, N. Y.**

**OREGON 4-4200**

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE.  
WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1957

NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM AND SUN,  
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1957

## Refugee Aid Role Urged For NATO Liquidation Of Problem Sought

By Ralph Chapman

An international conference "to liquidate the residual refugee problem in Europe on a crash basis" was proposed yesterday by the Zellerbach Commission on the European Refugee Situation, sponsored by the International Rescue Committee.

A report by the seven-member commission, which toured Europe during October, suggested that such a conference initiated by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as evidence that NATO is more than a military alliance. When the NATO Council begins a series of meetings in Paris on Dec. 16, it will have for ratification a resolution giving effect to this proposal. The resolution was offered by Sen. Jacob K. Javits, R., N. Y., at the parliamentary conference of NATO last month and adopted unanimously.

The commission was headed by Harold Zellerbach, San Francisco industrialist, and Angier Biddle Duke, president of the International Rescue Committee. Mr. Duke made the report public during a press conference at the Overseas Press Club, 35 E. 39th St.

### Specific Proposals

"To provide the leadership which the Western world expects of us and to live up to our own traditions of asylum for the oppressed, the United States must enact legislation permitting a substantially greater number of Iron Curtain refugees to enter our country," the commission said.

Specific proposals included:

1. Enactment of a law admitting 75,000 Iron Curtain

refugees as non-quota immigrants, with special provision for the admission of a fair share to "hard core" cases. (The latter are refugees who have been barred for reasons of health, age, political associations, etc.)

2. Pooling of unused quotas, as proposed by President Eisenhower.

### Parolee Status

3. Regularizing the status of 30,000 Hungarian parolees so that, as Mr. Eisenhower has said, "they might in the future acquire permanent residence, looking forward toward citizenship."

4. Extension of the parole program to admit Hungarian refugees with relatives in this country, regardless of whether these relatives are citizens, legal residents or parolees.

Mr. Duke said that there is a present backlog of 200,000 refugees in Europe but that this problem could be solved in three years if the free nations assumed an active part in the solution.

The commission report will be circulated to members of Congress, the State Department, the White House and appropriate officials in other countries.

## Use NATO to Resettle Refugees, Report Asks

The use of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as a vehicle to resettle 200,000 refugees now in western Europe and more liberal U.S. immigration policies were urged today by the Zellerbach Commission on the European Refugee Situation.

These were the main recommendations of the seven-member group, sponsored by the International Rescue Committee, which recently toured overseas refugee centers. A report on findings of that trip was issued today at a press conference in the Overseas Press Club.

### Plea for 75,000.

The report called for a new law which would allow entry of 75,000 Iron Curtain country refugees as non-quota immigrants. It also backed the pooling of presently unused quotas, as recommended to Congress by President Eisenhower.

On the subject of NATO, the report called for a "crash" program of resettlement in which all Western European nations would cooperate, aimed at eventual closing of all refugee camps by 1960.

### Fear Loss to Reds.

The report added that refugees forced to live for years in camps "provide fertile grounds for Soviet propaganda and Soviet redefection agents."

Commission members include Harold Zellerbach, chairman, president of the Crown Zellerbach Corp.; Angier Biddle Duke, president of the IRC; Mrs. Eugenie Anderson, former U.S. Ambassador to Denmark; Irving Brown, European representative of AFL-CIO; Mrs. Adele Levy, of the New York State Youth Commission; Eugene Lyons, senior editor of Reader's Digest, and the Very Rev. James A. Pike, dean of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine.

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NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1957

## Ask U.S. Lead Resettlement Of Refugees

By HENRY BECKETT

The U. S. must take the lead in working out resettlement of 200,000 Iron Curtain refugees still living in camps and shack villages, the Zellerbach Commission on European Refugees said today.

Reporting on its October inspection tour of Europe, the commission also urged that "crash program" for "liquidating" the refugee problem be initiated through NATO.

The commission, headed by San Francisco business man Harold Zellerbach, issued its report at a press conference at the Overseas

Press Club, 35 E. 39th St. The group is sponsored by the International Rescue Committee.

The report urged that the U. S. enact legislation that would admit 75,000 refugees on a non-quota basis, including a "fair share" of hard-core cases who find it difficult to win resettlement because of illness and other reasons.

In suggesting that NATO take part in the program, Mrs. Eugenie Andersen, former U. S. ambassador to Denmark who is a commission member, pointed out that the activity would enable the organization to operate, for the first time, on a non-military level.

She said the commission had found U. S. prestige "at its lowest point since World War II."

"There's a strong feeling in Europe about our military concentration to the exclusion of the humanitarian and social ideas in which we have led the world," Mrs. Andersen said. "We've lost the affections of Western Europe."

R E S O L U T I O N

ADOPTED BY THE NATO PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE

(November 16, 1957)

- WHEREAS the Members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have since 1949 joined in common cause to protect their freedom and independence from the threat of Communist suppression and aggression; and
- WHEREAS Soviet enslavement and repression of the peoples of Eastern Europe has proven so abhorrent that thousands each month seek refuge in the lands of their Free neighbors; and
- WHEREAS the great majority of these refugees are motivated by their devotion to freedom and their repugnance for Soviet tyranny; and
- WHEREAS they have in large measure sought the sanctuary of their Free neighbors in response to the promises of freedom, humanity and justice which are repeatedly directed to the peoples enslaved by the Soviet Union; and
- WHEREAS the Free Nations geographically contiguous to those enslaved by the Soviet Union have already offered all facilities within their respective economic capacities to welcome and absorb these refugees; and
- WHEREAS the volume of escapees has in recent years multiplied beyond the absorptive abilities of those nations offering asylum; and
- WHEREAS approximately 200,000 refugees from Communist enslavement are still unsettled in West European countries, many in refugee camps, which are overtaxed and characterized by inadequate and temporary facilities, and which have resulted in a serious strain on the economics and resources of these asylum nations; and
- WHEREAS the welfare and eventual resettlement of these refugees from tyranny requires the assistance of the Free nations including those that comprise the Membership of NATO; and
- WHEREAS Article Two of the North Atlantic Treaty prescribes for the organization economic and social functions broad enough to encompass the solution of this tragic problem; and
- WHEREAS the experience in resettling almost 200,000 Hungarian refugees during the past year demonstrates that the Members of NATO are capable of resolving this problem humanely

NOW, Therefore be it Resolved,

THAT the NATO PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE urge upon the Members of the NATO Council to examine the best means of putting the influence and resources of the members of NATO at the disposal of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Special Representative of the Council of Europe, ICEM and other Agencies in the interests of Western Security and in order to demonstrate in a practical manner the Free World's capacity to deal with the victims of tyranny and the possibility of cooperation of the NATO countries therein.